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NATIONAL WAR FRONT BUREAU

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BRITAIN'S REPLY TO THE THREAT OF MASS MOVEMENT.

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Mr. L. S. Amery—House of Commons—July 30.

"The purpose of the British Government with regard to the constitutional future of India was made clear in the draft declaration, which Sir Stafford Cripps was authorised to offer on behalf of the British Government.

"It proved impossible to secure the support of the principal elements of India's national life for the specific proposal in that declaration, and the draft was accordingly withdrawn. Nevertheless, the British Government stand firmly by the broad intention of their offer.

"The present demand of the Congress completely ignores this far-reaching offer, and would, if conceded, bring about a complete and abrupt dislocation of the vast and complicated machinery of the Government of India. This, at a time, when in Russia, China, Egypt and other theatres of war, the situation calls for undivided energy, co-operation and concentration of the resources of all Allied powers.

A WARNING.

"No greater disservice can be imagined, and men of goodwill everywhere must refuse to envisage such a catastrophic development in one of the most vital theatres of war.

"The British Government, while reiterating their resolve to give the fullest opportunity for the attainment by India of complete self-government cannot

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but solemnly warn all those who stand behind the policy adumbrated by the Congress Working Committee, that the Government of India will not flinch from their duty to take every possible step to meet the situation.

"The United Nations have bent themselves to the task of fighting the menace which overhangs freedom and civilisation.

"In this crisis, and in the future after the war, India has a great part to play, and it is the earnest hope of the British Government that the Indian people will lend no countenance to a movement fraught with such disastrous consequences, but will, on the contrary, throw their all into the struggle against the common enemies of mankind."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS ON THE INDIAN SITUATION.

"Concerning the attitude of the British Government there can be no doubt. The Secretary of State for India made a statement last week which makes it plain that "His Majesty's Government stand firmly by the broad intentions of their offer in the Draft Declaration" which I took with me to India, and that they "reiterate our resolve to give the fullest opportunity for the attainment by India of complete self-government".

"It is, therefore, plain beyond doubt that Indian self-government is assured, as soon as hostilities are over, and it becomes possible to re-plan the life of India upon a new basis. It is of no avail for protagonists of the national interests of India to deny these simple facts. The promise has been made, that promise will be carried out.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES.

"Is it reasonable, then, for the people of India, while hostilities are continuing, to demand some complete and fundamental constitutional change? Is it possible in the middle of a hard-fought war, in which the United States, China and Great Britain are exerting all their strength to protect the eastern world from the domination of Japan? Mr. Gandhi has asked that the British Government should walk out of India and leave the Indian people to settle their differences between themselves, even if it means chaos and confusion. What could this chaos and confusion actually mean?

"All Government, which is based upon the existing constitution, would immediately cease. There would be no Viceroy, no Executive Council, no Legislative Assembly, and no Civil Service with any legal authority. The Governors of

Provinces would cease to function and so would all the Provincial Governments and Legislatures. There would be no authority to collect revenue and no money to pay for any Government service.

"The Police would cease to have any authority, the Courts of Justice would no longer function, and there would be no laws and no order. The evil-minded could pillage the land and, disorder and crime could run riot. In this chaos Mr. Gandhi proposes to set up a Provisional Government if he can, but, as there would then be no electoral machinery, and no law as to representation, it could at best be no more than a Government nominated by himself, and such of the other leaders of Indian opinion as might be willing to work with him.

"Others might work against him, and defy his Provisional Government.

EFFECTS OF CHAOS.

"Chaos in India at this moment would not affect India only. It would affect vitally, the whole war against the Axis powers. Mr. Gandhi has more recently recognised the need for the continuance of British, American and Chinese efforts in India, and has suggested that these troops might remain by agreement with some new Indian Government. But the difficulty of the situation does not lie in whether agreement can be come to with an Indian Government but whether in the conditions of chaos and complete lack of law and order an Indian Government can establish itself, pass all necessary laws to lay down completely a new constitution, and get the agreement of all sections of Indian opinion so as to avoid immediate civil war.

"It was because of these difficulties inherent in any attempt to change over control of a country so vast as India that we have recognised that while the war lasts a complete change over, and an entirely new constitution are an impossibility.

"Apart altogether from our own vital interest we cannot and must not desert those other nations who have already gone through so much of tragedy, and suffering to defeat the evil designs of the Axis powers.

WORLD IS WITNESS.

"We have pledged ourselves and of this the United Nations and the world are witness, to give the fullest opportunity for the attainment of self-government by India as soon as hostilities are over.

"I repeat that it is beyond doubt. I cannot believe that it is the desire of the Indian people—and, I know that it is not the desire of many of them—to use this time of difficulty for the United Nations in order to extract compliance with the views of one section of opinion, however large and important.

"Many hard comments have been made on my efforts in India from the side of the Congress party, and, yet, I feel content in the deep conviction that the offer I travelled 22,000 miles to discuss with the Indian leaders was a real contribution to the solution of our differences.

"Violent statements and threats connot provide a solution to the problem. They can only exacerbate feeling, and make a clash of forces inevitable. Reasoned arguments and suggestions, which make allowance for the full difficulties of a state of war that exists may help, and will always be listened to with respect and sympathy.

"Mr. Gandhi tells us in a recent issue of *Harijan* that 'We know that if India does not become free now, hidden discontent will burst into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing.' My answer to that proposition is that if Mr. Gandhi and his Congress colleagues were to explain to the Indian people that their freedom was assured, before all the world, as soon as hostilities cease, and further that the basis indubitably, of the cause of freedom depends upon the success of the struggle of the United Nations, then, there would be no danger whatever of a burst of welcome to the Japanese.

GANDHI'S PREVIOUS VIEW.

"The danger, if danger there be, arises from the attitude and propaganda of Mr. Gandhi and his friends. I remember Mr. Gandhi saying some years ago that once given the certainty of Indian freedom in the future, he cared little how long the period of transition lasted. Certainly, it has now been given, and the period of transition has been reduced to 'while hostilities last.' Is it not then unreasonable to demand suddenly that there should be no period of transition, at all, and make that demand at a moment of peculiar difficulty or the United Nations?

"No practical suggestions by which I mean suggestions—reasonably capable of being carried out in a time of acute war danger—has been put forward since I left India. No one will expect the British Government or the Government of India to give way to threats of violence disorder and chaos; and indeed, representatives of large sections of Indian opinion have expressly warned us that we must not do so.

"We make no threats but we must assert unequivocally our duty to India to the great minorities and to the United Nations to preserve law and order until the hostilities cease and we can then give, as we have promised, the fullest opportunity for the attainment of self-government by the Indian people.

"It is not yet too late for the Indian people to decide upon rapid and ordered progress. I can assure them that the British people are as determined upon self-government for India as they are themselves. We ask the

great masses of India to be patient for a short time longer, while the cause of freedom is being fought out, not because we want to delay but because the hard facts of war make a complete change impossible at the moment.

"I sincerely hope that we shall all of us face these difficult questions with calmness, sincerity and mutual trust, **because I am convinced that, if both the peoples so exercise their will to solve our problems, there need be no violence. India has, indeed, a great and free future before her, in which she can make her special contribution with the United Nations for the defeat of Fascism and of brutal aggression.**"

LECTURE CVII.

A REVIEW OF THE RUSSIAN WAR.

It was a hot summer day in May, but a cool breeze was blowing in the Bavarian hill-tops. In his eyrie in Berchtesgaden the Nazi eagle had gathered his brood together and was expatiating on the juicy meat the Russian bear would yield. A sudden swoop, a brief struggle, and the bulky bear could not escape their eagle talons. One of the brood, wiser than the rest, blinked his eyes. He looked more like an owl than an eagle then, and considering his name was Rudolf Hess, the transformation was really remarkable. There were others too, of lesser rank, who demurred at this bold suggestion of their leader, but no one dared open his mouth. They were not cowards for most of them had distinguished themselves in the many bloody sports they had had with their miserable victims. Their claws were sharp and their swoop most deadly, but they were just a little bit hesitant of the enigmatical bear. The Big Eagle Hitler, however, browbeat them into acceptance. Had he not after all conquered Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway and Denmark? Had he not triumphed in the Balkans?

The lesser eagles pondered; their leader's political prescience had been better than their military forecasts on more occasions than one in the past. Perhaps he was right, the Russian bogey might after all be but the shadowy conjurings of overwrought brains. It would soon dissolve into thin air at the first touch of their trusty steel. Nothing could withstand their lightning advance. So thought the eagles as they made home from the Bavarian retreat; already they were preparing to hunt down the Russian bear. Only Hess did not fly back home; instead he flew to Britain and provided one of the most dramatic sensations of the war.

HITLER MAKES UP HIS MIND.

The reasons for an attack on Russia, were, however, mostly strategical England was still the chief enemy. Her resistance, according to the German schedule, should have been broken by the Autumn of 1940. But not only had Britain successfully stood up to the terrible punishment of the *Luftwaffe* but was now fast consolidating her position for an eventual offensive against Germany herself. Crete had obviously upset British plans, but the time gained in its valiant defence had been put to good purpose in strengthening Allied position in Iraq and Syria. Anglo-American co-operation was steadily gaining in momentum and American help in the Atlantic and up the Red Sea route was reaching disturbing proportions. Hitler, therefore, felt that he could not risk an invasion of England in the summer of 1940 with any certainty of success, and on May 4, for the first time, he stated implicitly that the war against Britain would be a long one. **For the final assault on the British Isles, therefore, it was essential to make sure that he would not be attacked in the back while he was engaged in this most important battle.** Russia was the most obvious answer, for an adventure in that direction promised the most fruitful results.

By annihilating the Russian armies, Hitler would not only become master of the vast resources of that huge sub-continent, but would also remove the potential menace to his designs on Great Britain. World domination would then be in his grasp. His vast armies, moreover, needed occupation both for reasons of morale as well as for the necessity of keeping them in fighting trim. An attack on Russia would give them both and also ensure his hungry war-machine with supplies from conquered Russia. Incidentally connected with the prospects of a successful assault on Russia was the hope of defeating the British blockade, for by the consolidation of so huge a land power, the British sea-power would be nullified beyond any hope of redress.

Finally—and this factor had great weight in German plans—important political results were expected to flow from the attack on the Soviet Union. It would confuse opinion in Britain and America, consolidate anti-Soviet opinion in Occupied Europe and encourage aggressive opinion in Japan. All of which would have led to a position where Germany could say that further Allied resistance was both impolitic and useless.

HOPES ARE DUPES.

Hitler struck on June 22, 1941, and at once the spotlight was focussed on the true meaning of this war. For on this fateful day, the forces of progress and reaction, of light and darkness, of good and evil, which had been waging silent warfare for more than twenty years, and which nearly threatened to reach the ignition point in the Spanish Civil War, finally burst out into a

violent conflagration and illumined the implicit issues of the war. And in that fierce light generated by the violent impact of the two forces, the dreams on which Hitler had made his plans began to melt away.

The confusion of opinion on which he had relied did not materialise. Mr. Churchill gave the lead "This is no class-war" that statesman declared, "If Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great democracies who are resolved upon his doom he is woefully mistaken". He brushed aside all questions of ideological differences, "the past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies flashes away", the Russians were defending their own soil against a hideous onslaught and hence they had a community of interests with Britain and her allies. From that day Anglo-American aid to Russia began to increase in rapid measure. This was Hitler's first disillusionment, for not only the Allies but also the peoples of Occupied Europe refused to believe in the godless Nazi crusade against Bolshevik Russia. Secondly, **Hitler received a nasty shock at the unexpected strength of the Red Army which now displayed the fruits of careful labour bestowed upon it in the past twenty years.** Its equipment was first rate and modern, and it was well served by the network of Russian communications which were thought to be primitive and useless. The Soviet Fleet proved that it could deal with the German menace in the Baltic and Black Seas in no uncertain fashion. But the rudest awakening of all, was in the air, where the *Luftwaffe* for once failed in achieving the mastery over the contending air force. Dreams of a quick decision were fast fading away. On July 7th the German radio had announced that the Russians had thrown in their last reserves, and a fortnight later had said that, it was only a question of days before Leningrad would be captured or destroyed. It was becoming more and more obvious to Hitler that the events were not justifying the expectations which Dr. Goebbel's propaganda machine was made to dole out every day. With the first shock of invasion, the Russians had rallied to the defence of their country with a fervour that was most disconcerting. The spirit of nationalism, never dead, flared up at the stimulus of foreign aggression with an intensity perhaps never before equalled in Russian history. There was never any question of Hitler bringing out the Quislings from his cold-storage to play their role in Russia. It was an united nation and united people that decided to face Hitler and dared him to do his worst.

THE INITIAL RUSH.

It was only the element of surprise that really did serve Hitler in the opening phases of the war. But it did not win him half the battle as he had hoped.

In their initial assault, which caught the Russian armies in the act of deployment, the Germans selected for their main thrust the White Russian

front, covering Smolensk and Moscow. On the third day of the offensive, Germans passed south of Vilna and the Russians fell back on Minsk. After nine days fighting, the capture of Minsk was announced. On reaching River Beresina at Borisov and Bobruisk, the Germans were held for many days. By the midddle of the third week the initial impetus had been lost and the first stage of the assault had begun to weaken. The pace of this first German drive had been over 20 miles a day. Russian losses had been great and with characteristic frankness Stalin admitted the loss of Lithuania, most of Latvia, western half of White Russia and part of the Western Ukraine.

DRIVE STAYED.

But in their hour of defeat the Russians perfected that system of fighting which would hold the Germans in check and prevent the repetition of such Nazi victories as in France. The German plan was ambitious and daring. Their thrusts were directed towards Leningrad *via* Finland and Estonia, towards Moscow through Minsk and Smolensk and towards Kiev, the Ukranian capital in the south.

The regrouping of their armies, the appointment of Marshals Voroshilov, Timoshenko and Buddeny to command in the north-western, central and south-western theatres, showed that unlike the French High Command in 1940, Stalin had realised that the defence must be flexible, and not tied down to any special line or locality. The tragedy of France was not so much in the mileage of the German advance, but the cutting of the Allied Army into two. The Russians were, therefore, careful to avoid encirclement and their armies have maintained contact throughout the campaign. They have adapted their military machine to the new methods of warfare; have treated the thrusts of German armoured units in the earlier phases of the campaign as cavalry charges, isolating them from their infantry support. Tanks have been pitted against tanks, those managing to pierce the defences being mopped up in the interior, while advancing infantry columns have been decimated by deadly fire from either flank. The co-operation between the land and air forces has been maintained throughout with mechanical efficiency, and has many a time swept away whole regiments of the German Army, marching to reinforce their advance tank and motor cycle columns.

THE DRIVE FOR MOSCOW.

It was certainly the exasperation caused by the failure of his plans, which were supposed to have got him into the Kremlin, much earlier, which was responsible for Hitler's amazing outburst on October 3. It was the performance of a man who had been baulked in his designs and had found the resistance tougher than he had ever expected. Autumn was already appearing over the Russian sky and the need for a decisive conclusion was getting more imperative

than ever. Hitler prophesied "new and enormous happenings which will smash our enemy in the East"—a forecast of what the German High Command hoped to achieve before Winter set in. The events which followed soon made it clear that Hitler hoped to batter Leningrad's defences, envelop and capture Moscow, overrun Eastern Ukraine and capture the Crimea.

The vigorous German drive in October brought them gains but not the result they had had set their hearts upon. Around Moscow—Kalinin, Kaluga, Vyazma, Orel and Briansk fell before their advancing armies. In the South, the Russians had to evacuate Odessa, after taking heavy toll of the attacking Rumanians, and in the Ukraine, the Germans reached the shores of the Sea of Azov by taking Mariupol, Melitopol and Berdiansk. They attacked the Perikop peninsula, and after taking Kharkov and Stalino broke through the Crimea.

By the end of November the situation on the South was as serious as it could be; the Russians had lost the factories and mines of the Donetz Basin, had to evacuate Simferopol, the capital of Crimea, as well as Kerch, the last bastion of defence for the Caucasus mainland. The Germans had advanced as far as Rostov on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the oilfields of the Cacasus seemed in grave danger. Only Sebastopol held out as the last great thorn to a triumphal march through the Crimea to the glittering prize across the Straits of Kerch and beyond.

At this stage of the operations, when the Germans had come within an ace of what might have been an overwhelming victory in the South, Hitler turned his attentions to Moscow which continued to defy all his plans. And it was the gallant defence of Moscow at this juncture that averted a general disaster. More than half the German strength in tanks and more than 49 divisions were hurled at Moscow's defences but the prize still eluded Hitler's grasp. Moscow's defences pinned down the best of German troops, inflicted casualties of more than half a million and gave Marshal Timoshenko, who had been removed to the South time to form a new chord of resistance 10 miles west of Rostov across the bend of the river Donetz. Moscow's defences, therefore, helped to turn a very ugly corner, and Hitler might well rue the day when he made a spectacular bid for a prestige success in Moscow rather than pursue his gains in the South.

On October 3, Hitler had launched a renewed offensive which he described in the Order of the Day as, "the last mighty blow which will shatter the adversary before the onset of winter." Winter was now setting in and Russian resistance was still unbroken. Hitler was indeed irrevocably committed to the taking of Moscow, but the character of the struggle for Moscow was changing from open and rapid manœuvre to conditions which

increasingly resembled siege warfare. The Germans were now thinking in terms of winter quarters for their army rather than a direct assault on the city itself.

TURN OF THE TIDE.

With wintry skies, the Russians could take stock of their six months of fighting against the Germans. **The most notable achievement was the forcing on the enemy the unpleasant prospects of a winter campaign.** Hitler's statement on November 8 that "the struggle may continue any length of time" was in itself a great victory. For gone was the easy optimism of a quick decision. Dr. Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich* "the question of how the war is going to end is to-day more important than the question when." The previous March this very person had told the Spanish newspaper correspondents: I affirm again that before the year is over Germany will finish the war." The Fuehrer in his New Year Message was reduced to praying to the Almighty for victory, for he felt that only supra-natural forces could now realise for him his cherished dreams. German military critics like General Hassel had begun to speak of a Spring Offensive when it would be impossible for Russia to take up the fighting again.

Stalin could now (Nov. 6) confidently speak of the four major miscalculations by the Germans. They had thought that Russia could be defeated in six weeks, that Great Britain and the U. S. A. would join against the U. S. S. R., that the Russian regime was unstable, and that the Red Army would be scattered by a single surprise attack.

The position in which the Germans now found themselves resembled that in which they were placed after their failure before Verdun in 1916; in spite of spectacular successes final victory still eluded their grasp. The Russians had converted the campaign into a war of attrition.

ALLIED AID.

But not only have the Russians managed to keep up their level of production, despite serious losses, they have received and are receiving valuable allied aid to reinforce the output of their factories. On the day the Soviet Union was attacked, Mr. Churchill pledged his support to the Russians, and since then allied aid has been reaching the Soviets in ever growing proportions.

Both America and Britain have extended the facilities of Lend-Lease to Russia and are supplying Stalin with tanks, guns and aircraft. New routes have had to be developed to send the goods across to Russia, and the Persian and Indian supply line, as well as the Archangel route are being perfected by intensive engineering works and clearing of the ice on the northern ports of Russia.

The revised Lease-Lend Agreement concluded by M. Molotov in Washington recently, is the culmination of Allied aid to Russia. Article 7, of the Agreement provides that the ultimate settlement of the lease-lend obligations "shall be such as not to burden commerce, but expand production, employment, exchange and consumption of goods". Thus have the Allies bound themselves not only to victory, but to implement in full the promise of a People's War into the revealed performance of a People's Peace.

THE WINTER CAMPAIGN.

November 22 had marked the very ebb of Russian fortunes; Rostov was in German hands in the south and Tikhvin in the north. But *General Winter* now threw in his weight in the scale and marked that brilliant come-back of the Russians which astonished the critics and upset the German plans. The Libyan offensive had also begun and General Auchinleck's advance up to Benghazi had caused the Germans to divert a considerable amount of aerial strength to the Western Desert. **Then there was the inspired strategy of the Russian High Command itself which struck at the crucial movement and gave the Germans no time to dig themselves in around Leningrad, Moscow and Rostov.**

MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD RELIEVED.

The origin of the Russian counter offensive could be seen in Hitler's decision last September to reject the advice of General Brauchitsch, who at that time recommended that the northern and central sectors should be stabilised until Spring, if necessary, by withdrawing the bulk of troops to prepare defensive positions while offensive operations were concentrated upon a drive to the Caucasus.

Hitler had thought otherwise and had massed his attacks against Moscow. **After coming within an ace of encircling Moscow, the exhausted German offensive encountered unexpectedly powerful counter-attacks and in winter conditions for which the troops were completely unprepared.** The Russian blows then began to merge into a co-ordinated counter-offensive and German wedges began to be steadily eliminated.

The first phase of the Russian drive was the removal of the two dangerous salients, north and south of Moscow. The Germans with some show of truth could claim that this was a straightening of their line, even though it involved the loss of Klin, Kalinin, Yeletz and Stalinogorsk. The recapture of Kaluga and Mojaisk finally removed the immediate danger to Moscow and the enemy were now 85 miles away to the west. This phase also saw the recapture of Tikhvin which saved Leningrad from being completely cut off from Moscow, and Timoshenko's brilliant thrust towards the sea of Azov which cleared the Germans from Rostov, the gateway of the Caucasus.

The second task of the Russian advance was to prevent the Germans from establishing a straightened and therefore *winter line* within easy striking distance of their major objectives when Spring came. The Russians, therefore, sustained their assaults with fresh tank formations and infantry divisions well-equipped for a war of moments in extreme cold. Their successful use of cavalry in deep snow and their superiority in the air provided further reasons for anxiety to the Germans.

RUSSIAN WEDGES.

The third task of the Russian Army was to dent the German lines, or the pushing out of salients *into* the German lines. One indentation, therefore, extended south-west from Lake Ilmen *via* Cholm and Veliki Luki and threatened to cut the Leningrad-Vitebsk railway; and another stretched up towards its north-west from Kaluga creating an enormous pincer movement converging on Smolensk. Similarly, the south-westward drive below Kharkov to the Dneiper threatened to trap the German forces along the Azov sea-board and imperil the German position in the Crimea.

Large German forces were therefore encircled at Rzhev, Vyasma and Staraya Russa in the Russian enveloping movement; the great lateral Leningrad–Ukraine railway was cut at Cholm, while the capture of Western-Dvina, Nelidova and Olenino meant that a long stretch of the Moscow-Riga trunk line had been cut at several places.

Russian strategy in winter therefore, dislocated German preparation for a grand assault in Spring, by forcing them to transfer their reserves from one threatened place to another and preventing their accumulation at any one definite spot.

Stalin's speech in February, on the 24th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army, showed that a winter of uninterrupted fighting had not exhausted the Russian war-machine and that he was confident of victory. Hitler's speech on March 15, on the other hand, complained of the fresh hordes of Russian troops, which appeared as each previous one was annihilated. "Only to-day" he said, "we realise the full extent of the preparations of our enemies."

The editor of the Finnish paper *Helinsingen Sanounat*, after his visit to Germany in March said, "there is no general optimism as to the outcome—the maximum aim appears to be that of driving the Red Armies from European Russia, and even wishful thinking does not go past this."

GERMANS RENEW THEIR ATTACK.

The Germans began their Spring fighting in May in the Kerch peninsula and soon reached the vital straits. But the almost simultaneous news of Timoshenko's drive around Kharkov, soon gave the campaign a new complexion.

The German counter-attack in that region around Izyum showed only too clearly that the hands of the Germans had been forced, that their operations were not a part of their planned offensive form the Donetz salient, but were a sudden improvisation, or in other words a diversion to protect the threatened left flank of the German "Army of the Caucasus". Timoshenko smothered the blitz and prevented it from striking towards Rostov.

As long as the Russian High Command can compel the enemy to attack defensively in directions which he had not originally intended and can also hold attacks when they come, the initiative will clearly remain in their hands. It will be these anticipatory thrusts if persisted in, that will postpone the Caucasian offensive from time to time.

We have now reached a stage in this narrative when it will be dangerous either to explain the significance of moves that are now taking place or to hazard a forecast of future events. Both will be outdated by the fast moving tempo of the war.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN TREATY.

This much, however, can be said that, the Russians are entering their second year of war with undiminished vigour and a strong determination to win. This determination has been strengthened by the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of May 26, 1942, which is the coping stone to the arch of Anglo-Russian friendship and understanding. The visit of the Russian Trade Union Delegation to Britain was the first sign of this new understanding, the demand in Britain for a second front another. Britain saved Russia in 1940, Russia saved Britain in 1941. The Treaty only puts into words a mutual popular admiration and trust which has long been visible.

The statement that a complete agreement has been reached about a second front in Europe means that the strategy of Russia is now in line with that of Britain and America. The Treaty emphasises joint action against the Axis in Europe and reiterates that there shall be no separate peace or armistice. It also deals with the post-war world and arranges for common action during the period of reconstruction.

CONCLUSION.

In the days that lie ahead Russia will disprove many a German prophecy of victory. The peoples of Russia are fighting with a courage that is born of the full realisation of the issues of this war. They are a people who have realised what the Nazi fury means, they have weathered many a dangerous storm in the past year and are prepared to face many still to come. Here there is no weakening of the national resolve, no signs of exhaustion or of fatigue, but only a burning love for their motherland which will finally be

freed from the tyrant's grasp. It is a people's war where the people are performing unparalleled feats of heroism and valour. M. Molotov's notes show what these people have suffered under the Nazi tyranny: the leaders of the Soviet Union are determined that this plague shall not visit the generations still to come.

Russia's war is our war "We do not fight this war alone, nor for ourselves only," said Stalin: Britain and Amercia and China realise this and have joined their shoulders to make this a truly people's war against a Fascist dictatorship.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

1—8—42 to 7—8—42.

Russia.—In an area of over 23,000 square miles of steppe country, but chiefly at the Don elbow (north) at TSYMLYANSKAYA (centre) and beyond BATAISK (south) great battles are raging.

For nearly two weeks now, the battle of the Bend—at the Don elbow has been raging between KLETSKAYA and KALACH with the utmost ferocity. The Russians are fighting a battle of what has been called 'aggressive defence' and 'circular defence' assisted by a low range of hills, which form a natural obstacle to the passage of tanks.

At TSYMLYANSKAYA the enemy has crossed the Don.

The greatest danger zone at present lies to the south of the Don. After the fall of BATAISK, the enemy has encircled Azov and advanced towards KUSHCHAVSKAYA, 45 miles down the railway line from ROSTOV to BAKU. He has also pressed to SALSK—a junction on the railway line from the CAUCASUS to MOSCOW in the north and from KRASNODAR to NOVORISSIK in the south. The struggle has also extended to BELAYA GLINA—50 miles south-west of SALSK.

The danger to STALINGRAD is increasing both from south and west.

Axis troops are being rushed from FRANCE, BELGIUM, EGYPT and FINLAND; men, tanks and planes are pouring into the Volga Valley in aid of the Soviet. U. S. ferry pilots are making record deliveries. Food supplies are being stored and food cultivation has been increased.

The Russian withdrawal, to prevent encirclement has now reached its limits. The order has gone forth, not to step back further.

The number of Germans killed in the past week total 60,000; casualties nearly 180,000.

VORONEJ still holds out. Here the enemy is not only kept out of the town but has been driven across the river both north and south.

Fighting is proceeding at Lake Ilmen in the north-west front. An Enemy transport of 15,000 tons was sunk in the Barents Sea.

Egypt.—Little of importance occurred during the week, one reason being the dust storms. Both sides are reinforcing. Allied airmen attacked sea-borne traffic between SIDI-BARRANI and TOBRUK. The CAIRO area was raided by the enemy and alerts were sounded in the Suez Canal area. The R. A. F. bombed LICATA (SICILY), MERSA MATRUH and TOBRUK.

Burma.—The main objectives of the R. A. F. were railway stations and rolling-stock on the MANDALAY–MYITKYINA railway. KALEWA, SINGAUNG and AKYAB were raided. Despite the monsoon American bombers obstructed the progress of repairs to the MYITKYINA aerodrome.

China.—In the KIANGSI province the Chinese have captured the strategic heights dominating KWEIKI, YINGTAN and LINCHWAN. At the outskirts of WENCHOW the Japanese are still locked in battle. Japanese troops which landed at CHINGTIEN, west of WENCHOW have been expelled. Aided by the American Army Air Force, the Chinese are storming LINCHWAN (FUCHOW) and are converging on KWANGFENG. A joint naval and air action was carried out by the Japanese in the Min River estuary area.

News comes from CHINA that the enemy campaign in CHINA is slackening and Japanese troops are being concentrated in MANCHUKUO for a possible attack on RUSSIA.

The Pacific.—The battle for KOKODA in NEW GUINEA, the Japanese infiltration into GUDALCANAR, the most southernly part of the SOLOMONS, the renewed Japanese attacks on the Australian coast, the allied and Japanese raids on the South Pacific bases, and the landing of 10,000 Japs on the ALEUTIANS are the principal features of the week. The Allied attacks were directed on GONA, CAY, KUKUM, (GUDALCANAR), HORN ISLAND, KOEPANG and BENDAGEE. The Japanese raided MORESBY, DARWIN, HORN ISLAND, PORT HEADLAN, TOWNSVILLE, MOSSMAN, the last three on the Australian Coast.

Air Raids.—The R. A. F. carried out attacks on HAMBURG CALAIS, OSTEND, SAARBRUCKEN, ST. NAZAIRE, ST. OMER, the WESTPHALIA industrial region, ABBEVILLE, CHERBOURG and DUSSELDORF. The weather helped.

German planes were over BRITAIN, and dropped bombs in the MIDLANDS, EAST ANGLIA and south coasts.

Miscellaneous.—1. M. Sultaneh has accepted the Premiership of IRAN in succession to M. Soheily who recently resigned as the result of an administrative crisis of a purely internal character.

2. The details of the ghastly shooting of 20 French hostages at CHEVENNES (FRANCE) have now leaked out. The offence was the wrecking of a German troop train in NORMANDY. Hostages were picked out of every town of the Department of Eure et Loire. The victims were taken to the place of execution bundled in lorries, and compelled to sit on their own coffins. They sang the Marseillaise as the fatal shots were fired.

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES.

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
27—7—42 (Monday).				
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—				
	Railways in occupied FRANCE.			
	The big industrial areas of LILLE.			
	LIBYA. (By British planes).			
	Axis transport vehicles, tanks and gun positions, in the battle area.	Heavy damage.		
	TOBRUK.	Big fires started.		
	West bound barges off the EGYPTIAN coast.	2 ships hit.		
	Motor transport on the road, between MERSA MATRUH and SIDI BARRANI.			
	Landing grounds in the EL DABA area.			2 planes.
	RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
	Air combats along the entire Eastern front.			
	FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
	The main MANDALAY—RANGOON Railway line near THAZI.			
	Railway workshops at MYITNGE.			
	Goodsyards at MANDALAY.			
	Barges on the river near MANDALAY.			
	The central dock area at AKYAB.			

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
27—7—42 (Monday)—cont.			
TIMOR. (By American and British planes).			
The aerodrome at KOEPANG.			
28—7—42 (Tuesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
MORNING :—			
Targets in the RUHR and North GERMANY.		1 plane.	
NIGHT :—			
HAMBURG.	Very heavy damage.		
Aerodromes in LOW COUNTRIES.			
Railway communications and other targets in occupied FRANCE.			
Enemy shipping off the French coast.			35 planes.
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Axis seaborne traffic between TOBRUK and SIDI BARRANI.	Many barges sunk.		
TOBRUK.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole Eastern front.			
CRETE. (By British planes).			
Shipping in the harbour of SUDA BAY.			
FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
GONA.			
TIMOR. (By American and British planes).			
The aerodrome at KOEPANG.			
29—7—42 (Wednesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY :—			
Railway engines, barges, German army lorries and shipping between CALAIS and OSTEND.		3 planes.	

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
NIGHT :—			
Military and industrial targets in SAARBRUCKEN.			3 planes.
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Shipping and harbour at TOBRUK.			
Motor transport on the road between DERNA and BARDIA.			
Shipping in BARDIA harbour.			
Landing ground at EL GUBBI.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats along the whole front.			
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
Railway stations and rolling stock on the MANDALAY—MYITKYINA line.			
The enemy base of KALEWA.			
SINGAUNG.			
Targets in Northern BURMA.			
NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
An enemy destroyer off GONA.			
Enemy positions and installations at GONA.			
HORN Island. (By American and British planes).			
Air duel over the ISLAND.			1 plane.
30—7—42 (Thursday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY :—			
Aerodromes and other military targets in the ST. NAZAIRE area.			
A tanker off the coast of BRITTANY.	Sunk.		
An aerodrome in the ST. OMER area.			
Air battle over the ENGLISH CHANNEL.		11 planes.	7 planes.

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
30—7—42 (Thursday)—cont.			
NIGHT:—			
Enemy shipping off the FRISIAN Island. **Intruder patrols** over the occupied territory. **A factory** in HOLLAND. **Railway targets** in occupied FRANCE.	2 ships hit.	No loss.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Shipping, dock installations and search light positions in TOBRUK.			
The landing ground at EL DABA and SIDI HANEISH.	Big fires started.		
Enemy encampments and motor transport vehicles in the MERSA MATRUH and FUKA areas.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and grounded aircraft along the whole front.			
FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
GONA area.			
SOLOMON Islands. (By American and British planes).			
Shipping and dock area at KUKUM.			
NEW BRITAIN. (By American and British planes).			
RABAUL.			
31—7—42 (Friday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Dog fights over the SOMME area.	Many more planes damaged.		11 planes shot down.
An aerodrome at ABBEVILLE.	Many planes damaged.		
Offensive sweeps over the CHERBOURG Peninsula and BRITTANY.			

Date Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies
NIGHT:—			
A big steel armaments and engineering works at DUSSELDORF. **Aerodromes** in the LOW COUNTRIES. **Railway objectives** in Northern FRANCE.		30 bombers and 1 fighter.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Shipping and the harbour at TOBRUK.			
MERSA MATRUH.			
Enemy armoured vehicles and tanks behind the enemy's lines.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats along the entire front.			
FAR EAST—BANDA SEA. (By American and British planes).			
An enemy cruiser south of AMBOINA.			
NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
Enemy installations at GONA.			
Air battle over BUNA area.			3 planes.
CAY Islands. (By American and British planes).			
A wharf and a harbour on the Island.			
SOLOMONS. (By American and British planes).			
Enemy stores at KUKUM.			
1—8—42 (Saturday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
HANOVER, WILHELMSHAVEN and FRANKFURT.			
Docks and shipbuilding yards at FLUSHING.			
The railway station at MIRVILLE.			
Goods trains, a factory, warehouses and a railway track in occupied FRANCE.			
NIGHT:—			
Laying mines in enemy waters.			

Targets	Damage	Enemies	Allies
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Motor lighters off the coast between SIDI BARRANI and MERSA MATRUH.			
A large merchantship at DERNA.	Sunk.		
TOBRUK, SOLLUM, BARDIA, SIDI BARRANI and MERSA MATRUH.			
An aerodrome at EL DABA.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and grounded aircraft along the entire front.	For the week July 25th to 1st August.	201 planes.	286 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
An enemy base on the CHINDWIN river.			
NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
Enemy positions in the GONA-BUNA areas.		3 planes.	6 planes.
Enemy positions and supply dumps at KOKODA.	Big fires started.		
Aerodromes at LAE and SALAMAUA.			1 plane.
2—8—42 (Sunday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Railway targets and barges in the LOW COUNTRIES.			
NIGHT:—			
Laying mines in enemy waters.			
Reconnaissance over the LOW COUNTRIES.			
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
A number of motor and armoured vehicles near RAS EL QUATARA.	20 vehicles destroyed.		
An axis headquarters in the southern sector.			
Enemy positions and tanks in the forward areas.			
TOBRUK.			
RUSSIA. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole front.			
FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By American and British planes).			
Enemy installations and positions near LAE and SALAMAUA.			
KOKODA.			
3—8—42 (Monday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Tanker barges off the DUTCH coast.			
A coastal gun-post and army hutments on the DUTCH coast.			
Goods trains in occupied FRANCE.			
Offensive sweeps over the occupied COUNTRIES.			

ENEMY Air Raids over Allied Territories.

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.	Allies.
28—7—42 (Tuesday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—			
South-west coast of ENGLAND.		1 plane.	
NIGHT:—			
A few places in EAST ANGLIA and MIDLANDS.			
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.			
FAR EAST—AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
TOWNSVILLE.			
29—7—42 (Wednesday)			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
NIGHT:—			
MIDLANDS and one part of Greater LONDON.	Very slight damage and a few casualties.	8 planes.	
A town in North-west of ENGLAND.			
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.		2 planes.	

ENEMY Air Raids over ALLIED Territories—*cont.*

Date.	Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies	Aircraft losses for Allies
29—7—42 (Wednesday)—cont.				
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
CAIRO area.				
	FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By Jap planes).			
Port MORESBY.		No damage.		
	AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
TOWNSVILLE.			1 plane.	
30—7—42. (Thursday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
NIGHT:—				
A town in West MIDLANDS.				
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.				
	FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA (By Jap planes).			
Port MORESBY.				
	AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
Port DARWIN.				
31—7—42 (Friday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—				
West MIDLANDS.				
NIGHT:—				
Parts of North-east ENGLAND.				
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.			1 plane.	
	FAR EAST—AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
MOSSMAN.		Very minor damage.		
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
CAIRO area.				
1—8—42 (Saturday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
NIGHT:—				
A coastal area of Eastern ENGLAND.				
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.				
	FAR EAST—NEW GUINEA. (By Jap planes).			
Port MORESBY.				
	HORN Island. (By Jap planes).			
The south of the Island.				
2—8—42 (Sunday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—				
Coastal districts of Eastern and Southern ENGLAND.		Slight damage.	1 plane.	
NIGHT:—				
A few places in EAST ANGLIA and MIDLANDS.			3 planes.	
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes)			
MALTA.				
	EGYPT. (By German planes).			
ALEXANDRIA area.				
3—8—42. (Monday).				
	BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—				
Eastern and north-eastern ENGLAND, MIDLANDS.				
NIGHT:—				
South-east coast of ENGLAND.				
	MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.				
	FAR EAST.			
No information available.				

SIDE LIGHTS.

NATIONAL HARA-KIRI. As we write the stage is being set in BOMBAY for a campaign of civil disobedience which if it were launched, would throw INDIA to the wolves; and probably, by the time, this goes to press the fateful decision will have been taken. We who had thought that, east or west, men and nations had already learnt, in the bitter school of experience, the unwisdom of isolation, are painfully distressed that a section of our countrymen should thus isolate themselves and contemplate acts detrimental to the war effort. At a time when all hands are required at the pump it is suicidal that some should keep away and prefer anarchy. If BRITAIN fail the light of freedom for which INDIA yearns also fails.

CRIPP'S PROPOSALS were a guarantee of the freedom-to-be, of the Promised land. They were democratic enough-for the most democratic minded. They assured INDIA an honoured place and equal partnership not only in the Commonwealth which is British but in the comity of nations also. They gave representative legislatures, responsible ministers, self-determination, Dominion status, 'independence', British withdrawal—everything as heart could wish. For the present the promise was also given to change horses in midstream and Indianise the Central Government almost wholly, in the midst of the throes of the war.

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POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY. The Congress rejection of these generous offers, made in recognition of INDIA's growing manhood, and of the proved heroism of her sons—the refusal to co-operate, and labour for victory is one of the saddest features of our times and a measure of our political bankruptcy. Congress politics is now bogged in negation and nihilism. Where are constructive politics, we ask; echo answers, where?

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'QUIT-INDIA' What is worse is the Congress attempt, to launch, if it could, a movement, frankly described, as 'open rebellion'—a 'Quit-India campaign' which will immediately terminate British rule, without a substitute, that is, which will be followed by anarchy, pure and simple. What is most surprising is the dismal fact that anarchy is viewed not only with equanimity but welcomed. Has not INDIA had enough of it in the past? Have INDIA'S sons forgotten their history?

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NON-VIOLENCE. Even anarchy would be welcome, compared with other worse disasters that are threatened. In these Utopian proposals, INDIA which it is supposed,

would still exist or will somehow emerge, in spite of the anarchy and chaos—this most strange new INDIA will own no army, and will not raise its little finger against the invader, who is already at the gate, but must non-violently preach peace and ask him to depart.

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MASS MOVEMENT. To complete the fantastic scheme, the scheme will be implemented, how it is not yet known—by a mass movement which its very author himself has already discredited and pronounced to be a Himalayan blunder.

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BRITAIN'S WARNING. BRITAIN who is watching the developments anxiously and with every solicitude for INDIA'S present and future has done its duty by issuing a timely warning and is poising to strike the offenders, if the painful necessity should arise. The present intransigence, while it may displease BRITAIN will not deflect BRITAIN'S purpose and resolve, to free the world, including INDIA, from the Axis menace, but INDIA'S role will become despicable, by the display of all this truculence.

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MORE FELL THAN TRAITOR'S ARM. So we are sorry for INDIA, for the bankruptcy of her politics; we are sorry for having become the laughing stock of the world; for the finger of scorn that is pointed at us; we are grieved that while BRITAIN is trying to save INDIA, INDIA bites the hand that feeds. It is the unkindest cut of all. Gratitude, of course, is not, a common or easy virtue; but ingratitude, we have to add, on this scale, in the hour of trial and tribulation, is more fell than traitor's arms.

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THE ENEMIES REJOICE. While therefore, the friends of INDIA—are grieved, the foes of INDIA rejoice—are jubilant at the present turn of events. To explain this, we have to digress.

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AXIS PROPAGANDA. It was in the last winter of Japanese successes that the Axis ambition of a gigantic pincer which will enclose a large land mass and envelope three continents was born. In this project the axis included INDIA, over whose prostrate form the Axis partners would march in triumph for their embrace at BASRA or somewhere else in the MIDDLE EAST. For the achievement of this gargantuan enterprise all weapons in the Axis armoury were used, propaganda, in particular. JAPAN set the ball rolling by proclaiming itself as INDIA'S kith and kin—culturally and religiously; she spoke of brotherhood,—of Cain's to Abel—and offered 'independence', INDIA to the Indians and all the rest of the nonsense. When

Cripps' Mission arrived, the propaganda was intensified, and when the Mission apparently failed, there were rejoicings, in the Axis camp—Germany claiming the credit as resulting from her victories, and JAPAN ascribing it to the presence of her fleet in the Bay of Bengal, and her raids on COCANADA, VIZAG and COLOMBO.

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A JUGGLER'S TRICK. Towards the end of May, the Axis tried a new stunt, a Juggler's trick—the death and burial of Subash Chandra Bose and his subsequent restoration to life

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INDIA'S 'PLENIPOTENTIARY' With Rommel's advance into EGYPT Axis greed thirstier than Long John Silver's increased in avidity and the propaganda devises against INDIA took a new turn. The renegade Bose, very much alive now, had become INDIA'S plenipotentiary, and was declared to have been officially received by Hitler and Mussolini. On May 28, the German fake Azad Hind Station kindly asked the Bengalis to form themselves into an Association to aid the Japanese who were going to invade BENGAL, first among the provinces of INDIA, and further warned Indians not to incur the Axis wrath by agreeing to any friendly settlement with BRITAIN. 'Reject such offers in toto, it said, 'they are not in the best interests of INDIA.'

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THE JAPANESE CAT OUT OF THE BAG. On June 18, Tokyo told its own people that the Civil Disobedience in INDIA would 'greatly weaken not only ENGLAND but also AMERICA and CHUNGKING.' This let the Japanese cat out of the bag; Japanese 'benevolence' to INDIA is only a device to complete the enslavement of CHINA and to avoid chastisement at the hands of BRITAIN and AMERICA.

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CHUCKLING IN THE ENEMY CAMP. Needless to add that the Axis has welcomed the Congress resolution of July 14 with malignant glea. On July 16, Rome yelled, 'approbation'; SAIGON called it "noble' and BERLIN giggled and asked the Congress to organise an 'armed *Satyagraha*' which would 'always have the sympathy and ready support of the Axis powers.'

The Axis is also trying to divide INDIA from CHINA. On July 16, Rome accused Chiang-Kai-Shek of advising India to give up her aspirations.

To go back to our main theme, thus the Congress Leaders have become Axis Heroes: they are giving a lead to Japan who is hesitating whether to attack RUSSIA in SIBERIA or BRITAIN in INDIA.

THE HEART OF INDIA IS SOUND.

But fortunately things are not so hopeless as they look. The Congress is not INDIA. INDIA is loyal and patriotic. INDIA is not led by the politicians, though politicians make the most noise. INDIA remembers her history; she knows too what BRITAIN has been and will be to her.

We appeal to the Nation—We, among the rest, for a united front. We appeal against this new danger in the Home Front—We appeal in our love of country and humanity. In a world threatened by tyrants and desperadoes, INDIA is tempest-tossed. As in the affairs of men, so in the affairs of nations, there is a tide, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune; ignored all the voyage of their life will be bound in flats and shallows—in subjugation and slavery. In BRITAIN lies INDIA's heaven of safety. The heart of INDIA is sound: we are sure she will make the right choice—the only right choice—and form a National War Front—whatever political parties may decide. Let us also hope that wiser counsels will prevail.

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THE BATTLE OF THE SEVEN SEAS.

How we wish we were able to say that 1942 is the year of Allied Offensive. It may come later in the year; but as portents go, it is not yet, not just now.

Historically we are still at 1917, with a year more to run for a turn in the tide of events. It is a crucial year—a year of testing patience.

Meanwhile Hitler will fume and lash himself to fury though gone are the days of dictating peace by Christmas, from LONDON or MOSCOW.

Let us look at events more closely. This is Hitler's last chance, and he knows it. But where can he to strike, for his final victory unless he is able to push some thirty of his opponents to the very edge of the world, and at all points of the compass and deal every where a knock-out blow also? Every time he pushes an army a little, back it hits with increased resilience Hitler may plan big; he may plan high; he may plan to scale the CAUCASUS and cross the Suez; he may attempt a still grander circus with arms outstretched towards JAPAN but to *succeed* he must seal RUSSIA, seal AMERICA and overpower BRITAIN.

Hitler, would, if he could, be an Alexander, a Cæsar, the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, the Caliphs and the Moghuls rolled in one; but first he must break through the Cordon of the Seven Seas which BRITAIN has drawn round this wild beast.

Thus the war is still and ultimately a Sea-war in its essence, though armies may kill each other on land—it *is* a battle of the Seven Seas.

For the Allies it is equally a Battle of the Seven Seas. Russia for instance should get her supplies from the American arsenal across two Seas, and China across three Seas.

THE BOTTLE-NECK. And ships are the bottle-neck: supplies are in abundance, but they have all to pass through the needle's eye. The Allies need more ships in which they will be carried to the distant theatres of war. In 1940, the need was aircraft; in 1941, it was tanks; in 1942 it is ships.

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SHIPPING LOSSES. According to the American magazine *Fortune* (May, 1942), at the end of 1941, the United Nations had a total of 25,000,000 tons of shipping, with the effective part of it standing somewhere between 6,250,000 and 17,500,000 tons, 'with Soviet RUSSIA and CHINA to be supplied; with INDIA, AUSTRALIA, ICELAND and ULSTER to be reinforced, with HAWAI to be rearmed and ALASKA to be saved'; and with this difference that while in 1941 the majority of Allied shipping had only short routes over which they made as many as twelve round trips a year the principal routes at present extend from 10,000 to 30,000 miles over which only 3 rounds trips a year are possible.

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FIVE NEWS ITEMS. Judged against this back-ground the reader will appreciate the significance of five news items which have appeared in the last few weeks. Firstly, the secret session in the House of Commons on July 16, which was held to discuss the shipping problem; secondly, the observance of Sunday, July 19, as a day of national prayer, for the men 'who man the ships that sail the seven seas' the silent heroes of the silent deep; the welcome announcemnt of the U. S. Navy department, on July 20, that a single U. S. task force escorted last winter 2,400 ships across the North Atlantic, with the loss of 8 ships only; fourthly, the warning news issued on July 21 by the War Shipping Administration in WASHINGTON that the shipping loss for the week beginning July 12 reached 'the highest level since December 7, 1941'; and fifthly, *Reuters* encouraging information that since July 19, the battle in the N. Atlantic has taken a turn for the better. Needless to say that every step is being taken to reduce the menace. Shipping is better convoyed now, better armed, and better manned; ship-building is speeded-up; the U-boat menace is countered by new invasions; supply-routes are rationalised; non-strategic cargoes are ruthlessly eliminated, and home-production of food is accelerated.

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TRANSPORT PLANES. There is a school of opinion that it is 'utter folly' 'to try to build ships faster than Hitler can sink them.' In a view of this it is interesting to note that AMERICA is building a fleet of giant transport planes capable of flying troops and supplies to distant theatres of war. The loss of the BURMA Road has given the enterprise a new impetus. When completed it will prove a

faster service over the mountains and gorges than the BURMA Road. In recent weeks the R. A. F. and other Allied aircraft were able to drop as many as 600,000 lbs of food and medical supplies to stranded refugees on the ASSAM-BURMA border. Mr. Henry Kaiser, the American expert has advocated the building of monster Mars Flying Boats of 70 tons each, which would travel 20 times faster than a ship at sea.

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MUSSO'S DISCOMFITURE. The Italian official news agency reports Mussolini's visit to LIBYA on June 29—the very day on which MERSA MATRUH fell. It is believed that it was his desire to enter CAIRO in triumph, probably riding on a white charger, as soon as Rommel had cleared the way for him. But Auchinleck spoiled the game. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick and Musso, not knowing what use to make of his visit, is reported to have inspected base hospitals in LIBYA for nearly a whole month and to have returned home *via* ATHENS, the capital of famished GREECE, instead of the capital of the PHARAOHS—a poor substitute.

In fact, ever since Rommel was halted at EL ALAMEIN the Axis has not been feeling quite comfortable. The blatant shouts of 'EGYPT for the Egyptians', and 'the MIDDLE EAST for the Arabs' are not heard now or are only soft-pedalled over the ether, though unfortunately the dying strains of this propaganda music have been disturbed of late by the discordant notes struck by the untimely publication of a pamphlet by a member of an Italian Academy, claiming SYRIA, PALESTINE and EGYPT for ITALY. The attitude of the MIDDLE EAST continues unruffled. As AL BALAGH points out EGYPT is confident. IRAN not only shows no signs of panic but no longer looks forward to the prospect of an Axis victory. IRAQ, like EGYPT, remains faithful to its alliance with BRITAIN. In PALESTINE and SYRIA even these national groups which once flirted with the Axis are now disillusioned. They have discovered Hitler to be a 'false God' and call Mussolini, 'a stuffed owl'. Axis propaganda has signally failed in TURKEY also. TURKEY's new Premier is staunchly British. M. Rauf Orbay, Turkish Ambassador to BRITAIN speaking at BIRMINGHAM declared, on July 15, that TURKEY in close collaboration with 'her great ally, BRITAIN' 'had decided not to be a liability but an asset'. Regarding the Axis solicitude for the Arab World, Imam Muhammed al Hussain al Khalifa al Ghata, a leading Muslim religious authority in IRAQ writing in Al Hawadith has declared, '*Nazi enslavement of peoples is paganism, worst corruption and most serious sin*'. He calls on believers to disclaim those who preach 'the deification of man, racial superiority, or the right of one people to enslave others'. The daily *Falastin* of JAFFA writes:—'*Rome is the worst enemy of Islam*'. *Al Hawadith* denouncing the Italian declarations about sympathy for the Arabs and Muslims writes:—'Are not the Fascists ashamed of this false pride displayed

in their claims of granting religious freedom and equality of rights to the Arabs and Muslims, while they dispersed the Arabs and destroyed large numbers of them and defile the mosques and other places of worship'.

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STALINGRAD. The Russian Battle is approaching STALINGRAD—a city which means so much to RUSSIA, both materially and in prestige. This city, known formerly as TSARITSYN was saved by Stalin in 1918 and renamed after him. In its liberation men who are now famous came into prominence, Timoshenko, Budenny and Voroshilov. Who controls Stalingrad controls MOSCOW and central RUSSIA. Situated on the Volga where it approaches the Don and connected with the Don also at this point by a canal it commands the rail and river routes from the Caspian Sea, the Sea of AZOV and the Black Sea in the South.

Hitler's present drive is directed both towards STALINGRAD to the east and towards the CAUCASUS to the south. The drive to STALINGRAD is made both from the Don bend, at the tip of the elbow, on a front of about 80 miles from KLETSKYA to KALACH and from TSYMLYANSKAYA lower down. KALACH is about 50 miles from STALINGRAD, TSYMLYANSKAYA about 95 miles South-west of KALACH. The situation is more critical further South where the enemy has crossed the Don at several points and is moving towards the CAUCASUS range. Here the Nazis have encircled the town of AZOV, taken BATAISK and threaten NOVOROSSISK, the main Black Sea port and naval base still remaining after the fall of KERCH and SABASTOPOL.

VORONEJ continues to be the brightest patch in the picture: The town continues to be in Russian hands, while to the North and South of it the Germans have been beaten back.

BERLIN claims very few prisoners in the present struggle, a cirumstance which favours the inference that Timoshenko's armies have escaped encirclement.

Goebbels has changed his tune. He now puts out that the present intention is not so much to destroy the Russian armies as to get possession of the UKRAINE and the CAUCASUS.

The Soviet High Command has decided that the strategic withdrawal should cease and a general stand should be made. 'Not a Step Back', is Stalin's Order of the Day.

MINIATURE NEWSPAPERS DROPPED OVER NAZI-OCCUPIED EUROPE.

(From London by Special Cable).

It can now be revealed that millions of miniature newspapers in a dozen languages are printed in Britain, writes a *Daily Telegraph* reporter. The R. A. F. delivers them on its rounds.

The group of midget papers carried regularly by the Bomber Command includes *Le Courrier de L'Air* (French) *La Libre Belgique* (French, for Belgians), *Vrij Nederland* (Dutch) and *Luftpost* (German).

Well illustrated, skilfully displayed, brilliantly edited and set in small but clear type, they pack 10,000 words of news into a tiny sheet, which rolled into a cylinder, would pass as a cigarette. Their standard size is four pages, each eight inches long and five inches wide, with three columns to a page.

Each little paper has its own staff of men and women journalists, some internationally famous. Issues are carefully planned and timed, but the publishing day depends on the conditions in Europe. After a lull in bombing operations, several editions of one paper may be carried on a single softie.

The papers are printed on modern high-speed rotary presses which automatically fold and count them into "bricks" of 500. Then they are rushed to bomber stations throughout Britain, loaded into four-engined Stirlings, Lancasters and Halifaxes for France, Holland, Belgium and Germany, and released at the right moment through flarechutes in the bomber floors.

Goebbels hates the sight of them. A year ago he was offering a reward of 200 marks—nominally about £ 10—to each informer "revealing the names of Germans who take home and keep the newspaper (*Luftpost*) which is being dropped on our country by the R. A. F.'"

R. A. F. "CIRCUSES" OVER FRANCE.

OBJECT OF OFFENSIVE SWEEPS.

The death of the distinguished flying "ace", Acting Wing Commander Paddy Finucane, during one of those offensive sweeps over France in which sometimes as many as a thousand aircraft are used in a single day, with inevitable loss of skilled pilots and valuable aircraft, must lead the layman to wonder exactly what is the purpose of this daily large-scale activity and whether the cost is worth while. It would be a serious mistake to regard the

object of the sweeps as local; they are part of our general air strategy, writes *The Times* aeronautical correspondent in a lengthy exposition of the importance of these sweeps, in which the following points are made:

Two Main Objectives.

There are two main objectives. The first is to force the Germans to keep a large number of their best fighter aircraft and pilots in the west, and the second is to make them use up this force of first-line pilots and machines in losses in combat, crash landings, in wear and tear and in all forms of wastage to which a fighter force is subject.

Damaging the war output and communications of the enemy in the occupied territories really means forcing the *Luftwaffe*, whether it wants to do so or not, to keep half its fighter force pegged down in the west. Unless the area were defended by great numbers of German fighters, we should be able in time to bring industry and communications in the whole region to a standstill.

Because Goering realises this as well as the R. A. F., he is compelled, very much against his will, to use hundreds of his finest fighter aircraft and most experienced flyers, to say nothing of many thousands of ground staffs and anti-aircraft gun crews, to keep our aircraft at bay.

The Germans, of course, are well aware why these almost continuous daylight raids are made; they use their fighter defence with the utmost economy. The reluctance of German pilots to fight is not due to cowardice—they are merely obeying the instructions of their commanders not to take unnecessary risks. Nor does it mean that they are flying inferior machines. A large percentage of the force in the west is equipped with F. W.-190s. and M. E.-109 Fs., which are the enemy's best fighter aircraft.

Losses Reversed.

During the Battle of Britain the invading German air armadas were slaughtered by our Hurricanes and Spitfires. The R. A. F. has reversed this relationship between attack and defence and manages to shoot down more German aircraft than it loses. This is an extraordinary achievement. Apart from aircraft shot down in battle, more are often destroyed as they stand on their aerodromes, sometimes by incendiary shells of fighters and sometimes by bombs.

In the course of their sweeps the R. A. F. "circuses" as they are called, bomb or "shoot up" [power stations, troops, stores, ammunition dumps or factories. On many occasions they have sunk or damaged shipping.

The task imposed on the German air force, of doing what Hitler once vowed to avoid on land—namely, fighting simultaneously on two or more fronts—places tremendous strain on its resources of frontline fighter aircraft. These offensive operations are designed to increase that strain to breaking point.

Aid to Red Air Force.

The losses we suffer are the price we must pay to achieve our ultimate aim—to lighten the burden on the Soviet air and land forces. **If the Red Air Force has superiority in the matter of fighters, the R. A. F. can claim some share in the credit.**

Pilots are enthusiastic about their work; the more so since they are convinced that by breaking down the enemy's fighter opposition they are paving the way for the day when our army will be able to land once more on the Continent and drive the German invaders from the territory in the west which they have held since June, 1940.

FRANCE'S FINANCIAL CRISIS. SEQUEL TO COLLABORATION WITH GERMANY.

by

Mr. Thomas Cadett in a B. B. C. Talk.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

In addition to all the other troubles arising out of her defeat, France is now getting deeper and deeper into a financial crisis. I will not trouble you with a lot of figures to prove it, **in fact a very few will be enough to show that no country on earth could go on being bled financially as France is now being bled without courting a disastrous situation.**

NO NORMAL TRADE.

Normal trade in France has been at a standstill since the armistice. That was inevitable with the separation of the country into two more or less watertight zones, with the lack of raw materials and with something like one and a half million potential workers still in German prison camps.

FEEDING THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

The inevitable result is that very little is going into the national treasury and that the drain on the French treasury is enormous. The French are still having to pay the Germans about or, if anything, over six and a half million dollars a day for the cost of the Army of Occupation, although the number of German troops there has been greatly reduced.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

On top of that, thousands of people are workless, so that instead of contributing to the national wealth thay need help from the State themselves.

INFLATION.

Now the same thing which happens to people who spend more than they earn, happens to nations doing the same thing, they just go bust.

Well, before nations go bust, they usually catch at inflation, either in the hope of saving enough time for recovery or even just to stave off the evil day. Inflation simply means printing money when you have nothing at the bank to cover it.

Well, the French are already doing that and on the grand scale and the only question is whether they can limit the damage by price control and strict rationing. In fact, they may in this way avoid the fantastic inflation that took place in Germany after the last war, when people had to take suit cases stocked with billions of marks when they went to do the day's shopping.

THE LION AND THE LAMB.

Anyhow, whatever happens, the Germans will be sitting pretty. In the long run, it is not really money that matters but the things that money buys. Germany is taking all she can get from the French, leaving a bare minimum for the inhabitants themselves.

Nothing can blind the onlooker to that fact and I think that very soon even the misguided people who accept the arguments in favour of collaboration will realize that collaboration with Germany is the collaboration of the lion and the lamb. That is to say one makes a meal of the other.

THREAT TO FRENCH AFRICA

By

Andre Labarthe.

At the beginning of February there were abundant signs that the Axis was bent on some fresh mischief in the Mediterranean. Goering had been on a trip to Italy, to meet the Italian leaders, and, with him, Kesselring, the general who directed, and lost, the Battle of Britain in the autumn of 1940. The bombardment of Malta had grown markedly more intense. Reinforcements had got through to Rommel. At the other end of the Mediterranean the bomb outrages in Tangier served as a reminder of one of the basic principles of Hitlerian warfare—that is, to create unrest in those countries on whom pressure is being brought to bear, thus encompassing their final subjugation.

These are anxious times for the Frenchmen, and doubly so when the battle of the Mediterranean comes to the fore. Because we know well enough that in total war there can be no neutrality. We know that, sooner or later, North

Africa will be swept into the maelstrom, and we are fearful that, by reason either of weakness or of treachery, she will be conquered or delivered up to the Germans. There is plenty of evidence of German designs on French Africa. Only a few weeks ago an important newspaper of the Reich which specializes in colonial matters stated that the Vichy Government was incapable of shouldering all its colonial responsibilities. There is nothing unusual about such declarations. For years past the Germans have maintained that, because of their stationary birth-rate, the French are not worthy to administer an empire. But, at a time like the present, when the German-controlled press of Paris is in full campaign against the men of Vichy, collaborationist slogans notwithstanding, such declarations are no idle reiteration of a familiar theory: Germany always registers a protest before marching in.

FUTURE IN THE PRESENT.

We can see the future in the present. Under cover of the Armistice Commission in Tunis the Germans are financing the néo Destur movement, and, in Morocco, they organize and encourage all Arab Nationalist movements; Herr Auer, who was well known at the Embassy in Paris before the war, is now Consul-General in Casablanca. Who but the Germans would profit by unrest in North Africa at the present juncture? Not only would unrest weaken the already limited powers of resistance of the French governors and generals in Africa; it would afford fresh opportunities to the Germans and Italians for intervention. And in a country so recently pacified as Morocco, with its turbulent population, the dangers are increased by the extreme difficulty of supply. Agitation amongst the native population is a means of pressure; press campaigns and speeches in Spain are another. For we know very well that, whenever the Germans attempt to wring fresh concessions from the Vichy Government, Spain immediately puts in a claim.

The plot against French North Africa, the incessant negotiation between the occupation authorities and the Vichy ministers, fit into the general Mediterranean plans of the Axis. And the part played by Tunisia in supplying Rommel's army must be interpreted in relation to this plot. If, once again, criminally and against the express will of the nation, the Vichy Government has helped the enemies of France, then certainly a rejoinder is necessary. But we must not fall into a trap. The more the Government of Vichy, compromised by its own behaviour in the eyes of the Allies, hemmed in and fallen into disrepute, is left to its fate, the more likely it is to fall a prey to German greed. And it is not only in the interests of the Allies that North Africa should not be occupied nor used by the Axis armies; it is an essential condition, if North Africa is to take its place beside the Allies.

NAZI PLOT.

The Germans are well aware of the limited number of troops available in North Africa, and of the deficiency in heavy armament. The peace enjoyed

by France's empire up to now is mainly due to the strength of the British Navy, and to the latent threat to Libya constituted by the Army of the Nile. The time seems ripe indeed for the Germans to involve the French Empire in the conflict, to precipitate a final break between Vichy and the English-speaking countries, and thus compel her to irreparable decisions. In the Mediterranean, as elsewhere, the Germans and the Allies are racing one another for victory. The Germans will exploit the material advantage which they still enjoy to make the greatest possible number of conquests, to ensure possession of all the important bases in Europe and Africa. In such a serious situation, it would be fatal to give way to resentment or to feelings which would lead one to do more than was actually necessary or strategically opportune.

Whatever their feelings, the Free French are ready to accept any action which may be necessary to keep French territory from falling into German hands. But that is not the question to-day. It is the Germans who are trying to force the issue—the Germans, who alternately threaten and entreat, who are at pains to exploit the temporary advantages they have acquired in North Africa. Thus, it is to the obvious interest of France and the Allies to frustrate this plan, to make the next move in accordance with actual possibilities, so that they may choose the moment to act instead of having it forced upon them.

A. R. P. NOTES.

The importance of falling flat (but resting on the elbows), if you are caught in the open during an air raid, is emphasised in Part I of A. R. P. Handbook No. 6 (India), which has been issued by the Civil Defence Department, Government of India.

The most important fact to remember (says the handbook) is that, when a bomb bursts, the blast, splinters and debris all tend to fly outwards and upwards. Therefore, if high explosive bombs are whistling down and shelter is not available, it is better to be in a hollow (even in the gutter) than on the level, and it is better to crouch down or lie flat than to stand up.

SAFEST POSITION.

The safest position is lying face downwards, resting on the elbows, hands clasped behind the head, and chest slightly raised from the ground to prevent internal injury from earth shock. A folded handkerchief or similar object wedged firmly between the teeth will guard against a broken jaw or damaged tongue.

In the immediate vicinity of an explosion, blast can be sufficient to damage or even demolish buildings. The direct effects on the human body are, on the whole, much less severe. The impact on the body may cause bruising of the lungs and sometimes other organs but serious or fatal injury directly attributable to blast is likely only very near indeed to the point of explosion of the bomb.

The views that blast causes internal injury, by forcing its way into the body through the mouth and nose, or sucking air out through the mouth and nose, have been discredited.

The ear-drums are liable to be injured by blast. They can be protected by small pads of cotton wool, which should be smeared with vaseline, if possible, and packed loosely into the ears. This reduces noise as well as shock.

PROTECTION NEAR BUILDINGS.

A wall or archway may give protection from bomb splinters and debris as well as from the fragments of shrapnel and spent fragments that accompany an anti-aircraft barrage ; but, **whether indoors or out, it must be remembered that shock transmitted through walls or earthwork can cause serious internal injury, and that it is extremely dangerous to lean direct against any part of a building or trench.** A cushion or rolled up coat gives protection

Failing any substantial cover, the head and other vital parts of the body should be protected in any way possible, for instance, with a thick rug or coat, or even an open book.

KEEP YOUR WINDOWS OPEN.

Indoors, it is better to be behind an inside wall than an outside one, and to avoid being in a direct line with the door or window. One of the chief dangers is from flying glass splinters. Open windows offer less resistance to blast, and are, therefore, less likely to be shattered if they are left open. But it is strongly advised to take *further* precautions against flying glass and details of the recommended methods are given in the handbook.

Having taken cover, stay there. Do not go outside " to see where that one was." Many people have been killed by the next bomb when doing this.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai State National War Front Bureau.

1942—

LECTURE CVII—(*Batch 4*).

August	... 8, Saturday ...	Town Hall ...	6.30 p. m.
	9, Sunday ...	Kiranur ...	6.00 p. m.
		Nanjur ...	6.30 p. m.
	10, Monday ...	Karaiyur ...	6.00 p. m.
		Idaiyattur ...	6.30 p. m.
	11, Tuesday ...	Andakkulam ...	6.00 p. m.
		Killanur ...	6.30 p. m.
	12, Wednesday.	C. S. M. High School ...	10.00 a. m.
		Rani's High School ...	10.15 a. m.
		College Tamil Branch School.	10.15 a. m.
		Nartamalai ...	6.00 p. m.
		Uppiliyakkudi ...	6.30 p. m.
	14, Friday ...	Konnaiyur ...	6.00 p. m.
		Melaveguppatti ...	6.30 p. m.

LECTURE CVIII—(*Batch 5*).

	15, Saturday ...	Town Hall ...	6.30 p. m.
	16, Sunday ...	Tiruvarangulam ...	6.00 p. m.
		Vamban ...	6.30 p. m.
	17, Monday ...	Malaikkudippatti ...	6.00 p. m.
		Tulaiyanur ...	6.30 p. m.
	18, Tuesday ...	College (A) English ...	10.15 a. m.
		Kulavoippatti ...	6.00 p. m.
		Kilaiyur (South) ...	6.30 p. m.
	19, Wednesday.	C. S. M. High School ...	10.00 a. m.
		Rani's High School ...	10.15 a. m.
		College Tamil (Branch School)	10.15 a. m.
		Vellanur ...	6.00 p. m.
		Sembattur ...	6.30 p. m.
	20, Thursday ...	Pallivasal ...	6.00 p. m.
		Pillamangalam ...	6.30 p. m.
	21, Friday ...	Puliyur ...	6.00 p. m.
		Kannangudi ...	6.30 p. m.

THE FOLLOWING PLACES WILL BE VISITED BY THE ADVERTISING PARTY OF THE NATIONAL WAR FRONT BUREAU FROM 4 P. M. TO 5 P. M. ON THE DAYS NOTED BELOW. THE STATE BAND WILL PLAY; POSTERS WILL BE EXHIBITED; AND HAND-BILLS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AND EXPLAINED.

Saturday	...	8— 8—42	...	Vettamviduthi.
Sunday	...	9— 8—42	...	Virachchilai.
Monday	...	10— 8—42	...	Konnaiyur.
Tuesday	...	11— 8—42	...	Perambur.
Wednesday	...	12— 8—42	...	Kilanilai Puduppatti.
Friday	...	14— 8—42	...	Pudukkottai.
Saturday	...	15— 8—42	...	Tirumayyam.
Sunday	...	16— 8—42	...	Tittanviduthi.
Monday	...	17— 8—42	...	Mullankurichchi.
Tuesday	...	18— 8—42	...	Ramachandrapuram.
Wednesday	...	19— 8—42	...	Karambakkudi.
Thursday	...	20— 8—42	...	Alangudi.
Friday	...	21— 8—42	...	Pudukkottai.

Sri Brihadamba State Press, Pudukkottai. 1,000—9-8-42.